

EPHEMERA OF THE SOCIALIST MILIEU

A major design inquiry

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I acknowledge that the work I do is on land that was stolen and unceded. I research, write and design primarily on Dharawal Country and the Darug nation. I pay my respect to the Elders of these lands, both past and present. Sovereignty was never ceded. This land always was, and always will be, Aboriginal land.

I particularly recognise the long-standing traditions and customs of Indigenous peoples, the Knowledge Holders of these lands. Recognising the land we are on, the lasting traditions, and the ongoing colonial oppression of Indigenous peoples in so-called Australia is essential in all contexts of society today, including tertiary education, where harmful and exclusionary practices remain.

Solidarity with the First Nations peoples in their struggle and fight for self-determination, land back and Indigenous liberation. We will not be free till we are all free.

Preamble

Contained within is an attempt to characterise my major design project around nine months of involvement in grassroots political organising and activism (hereinafter, political organising); engaging in the labour of grassroots community action groups—in particular, the Sydney-based organisations Pride in Protest and the NSW branch of the Australian Student Environment Network (ASEN NSW). With the initial aim to investigate the material uses of activist propaganda, this project soon evolved into a curation of artefacts through practice-based design research, and immersion research with the engagement in political organising—showcasing living propaganda in the Sydney socialist milieu. These designs were used for various purposes: Promoting rallies and events, or disseminating radical ideas.

This text is divided into two sections. The first section, *Radical Ephemera*, is an autoethnographic essay that explores the interplay between design and politics, with a focus on anarchist political theory and how it can inform design practice. Drawing parallels with findings that emphasise learning through practice outlined by Jacqueline Adams, a recent graduate of the University of Technology Sydney, in their Honours thesis (2022d), I expand my understanding of political organising. Their thesis and additional input have significantly propelled my inquiry forward.

The second section is a portfolio of works that I have designed, titled *Selected Ephemera*. This section provides commentary on each artifact's contextual significance, making the case for how they are products of practice-based design research and immersion research in particular socio-political contexts. By grounding the contextuality of this socialist milieu, this section aims to provide a better understanding of the socio-political contexts that affect my work and my understanding.

Despite much effort put into this project, considering additional curricula in this final year of undergraduate study in visual communication, the resulting work barely scratches the surface of the question that is central to this research: “How does propaganda become a tool for radical political organising, and in what ways might this be envisioned?” Nonetheless, the experiences I’ve gained from this research have been life-changing, and at the very least, it has set a trajectory for further inquiry, which I plan to explore through a master’s degree by research.

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1. RADICAL EPHEMERA

Autoethnographic
essay

1.1. Introduction

1.1.1. Research in design

In my experience of studying visual communication design, I've seen how curricula on theory and research often come with "the annoyance of students who just want to do design" (Roxburgh & Sweetapple, 2007, p. 1). Design is not a notable "domain with a well established research ethos" (Durling, 2002, p. 80). Indeed, "graphic design is a practice, and as such, it seems destined to oppose theory," writes Blauvelt (2015), who identifies even the "fear of overintellectualizing the practice," that we've gone so far as to have reached "the deepest depths of design mythology" (see Miller, 1996).

However, "graphic design is an inherently social activity that carries a weight of responsibility," writes Bestley & McNeil (2022, p. 321); having "a critical perspective is vital for designers who wish to further our wider sense of knowledge and understanding." Research develops a critical disposition and actively works to redefine the practice of graphic design as the role exponentially evolves.

By conjoining this essay with a collection of my designs from this year, I attempt to demonstrate the thought process and research I carried out with sufficient clarity. The design artifacts contribute to a pragmatic philosophy (Bertelsen, 2001, p. 24) that recognises the interconnectedness of complex social issues, and methods of political organising, this also interpolates ways to adopt new propagation methods.

1.1.2. Politics

This text is based on a radical education that follows the broad anarchist tradition as of this year while engaging in the broader socialist milieu, providing the ideological base of most grassroots political organising within the Sydney Left. Where I ideologically delineate myself in the broad anarchist tradition is in *anarcho-communism*, a political theory of practice that involves coordinated class struggle based on a platformist approach through the participation in union struggles (FdCA, 2003, sec. 5.2.1), which presents itself opportunity to radicalise, propagandise and "apply anarchist principles in practice and build tangible working class power against the bosses and the state" (Walmsley, 2020, para. 1).

Anarcho-communism observes principles I most believe in, principles of class struggle. As this project has become a curation of ephemera of the socialist milieu, it has also been a project to understand anarcho-communism and what it sets out to achieve.

As socialists, we have a goal for society: Emancipate labour. As anarcho-communists, we have in mind what must be achieved and the means to achieve this: A mass working-class movement toward "a stateless socialist society based on distribution according to need" (van der Walt & Schmidt, 2009, p. 125), by organising on platformist lines (Delo Truda, 1926/2006), forging a "homogenous programme" (p. 6) that awakens "revolutionary class consciousness and revolutionary class intransigence in the masses" (p. 13).

1.1.3. Directions and disillusion toward designing dissent

A non-manifesto concerning the potential for radical possibilities at the intersection of graphic design and anarchism was written by Jared Davidson of the Garage Collective in 2009 (Paja, 2020). In it, Davidson (2009, p. 1) begins by outlining the purposes of graphic design.

While graphic design sometimes lends its talents outside of the commercial realm in the form of an informative and communicative visual language, and in academic, self-authored, or research-based practices, the primary role of graphic design is that of the visual instrument of the powerful—the seller of sales, the convincer of consumers.

Davidson envisions how graphic design can “aid in more modes of social organisation” while also making a critical case on concerns brought forward that miss the mark, “in the form of the *First Things First Manifesto* [Garland, 1964; Adbusters, 1999]” (Davidson, 2009, p. 2), a text of well-known significance among designers for being supposedly anti-capitalist. The manifesto fails, four times over, to realise the drudgery of consumerism they outline can only be surmounted by “staunch collective efforts of [mass working-class] resistance against the foundational make-up of capitalist society” (Adams, 2022a, p. 6), as Davidson (2009, p. 2) continues, “proposing the shifting of priorities within the system rather than the shifting of the system itself . . . will do nothing more than file down the rough edges of our chains.” What could be questioned, Davidson outlines, is “how rampant globalisation and corporate hegemony go hand in hand with the current system,” it is then that he proposes “the graphic designer’s role (if any) in revolutionary, direct action towards the transformation of society, in specifically anarchist terms.” Here, direct action is taken to mean what Pouget (n.d.) describes generally as attacks against the capitalist mode of production toward social transformation that begins at the bottom—the popular, working-class.

Davidson (2009, p. 4) goes on to firmly write that “designers must not make the mistake of becoming some kind of vanguard group of designs,” as I explain in Section 1.2.2. Instead, Davidson argues that art should be used in activism, providing an “appealing and accessible entry point to social issues and radical politics” (p. 5). This has motivated the major design inquiry, observing the “appealing and accessible entry point” that many in the political organising space associate with the reclaimed term “propaganda.”

1.1.4. On “propaganda”

The usage of the term, “propaganda,” in this context can confuse the typology of propaganda and “deliberate persuasion” as defined by Pratkanis & Turner (1996). They observe propaganda as relying on “authoritarian and laissez-faire systems” (p. 189), which is similar to the way propaganda is defined today. However, in this context, propaganda will be simply referred to by its’ primal meaning: Communication that benefits the propagandist (Jowett & O’Donnell, 2019). This definition broadly fits under the definition of “deliberate persuasion” as defined by Pratkanis & Turner.

1.1.5. Doing and writing about propaganda

In what Laurene Vaughan (2017, p. 17) defines as “practitioner-research,” expertise is accumulated through research that is situated in the nuances of their daily practise. However, rather than attempt to solve a problem or provide answers to questions, the design practise of this inquiry is utilised as an interrogative process (Durling, 2002, p. 82). Similarly to Adams (2022a, p. 9), this research project aims to embody patterns of practice that—in the case of Adams (2022d, p. 6), led them to identify as an anarchist by the end of their research—and in my case, accumulated a body of expertise toward becoming a propagandist.

1.1.6. “Toward an anarchist design practice”

As explored in greater detail in Section 1.2, anarcho-communist strategies are transformative and rooted in pragmatism, like working in rank-and-file collectives to inflame the union base and bolster workers militancy—this is an active practice anarchists believe in and carry out day-to-day (Walmsley, 2020; Kay, 2009).

Anarchist communism is not a fixed, self-enclosed social system but rather a definite trend in the historic development of society, which, in contrast with the intellectual guardianship of all clerical and governmental institutions, strives for the free unhindered unfolding of all the individual and social forces in life. For anarchists, freedom is not an abstract philosophical concept, but a vital concrete possibility for every human being to bring to full development all the powers, capacities, and talents within them, and turn them to social account (Davidson, 2009, pp. 3–4).

Adams (2022d, p. 8) stresses the epistemological connections between anarchist theory and their design practice, writing that “the heavy emphasis on practical efforts as learning or research is as prominent in practice-based design theory as in anarchist theory” (p. 22). Such qualities are indeed ubiquitously anarchist.

In order to achieve a communist society the majority of the population has to engage in activities during the struggle against capitalism itself that transform them into people who want to and are able to self-direct their lives and their community through local councils and federations of councils. If this does not happen, then communism will not be created. This is because for communism to exist real people must establish and reproduce it day after day through their own activity (Baker, 2019, sec. “The Social Reproduction”).

1.2. Methodology

1.2.1. Practice-based research

The nature of research for this project has of course been significantly practice-based. That is, practicing design that imparts new knowledge as it is undertaken (Candy, 2006). In particular, artefacts of practice-based research design provide a “contextual review” (Durling, 2002, p. 82) of complex social issues they address. The designs presented in Section 2 were created with a keen understanding of the specific contexts they were intended for. This enabled the application of political theory and a comprehensive understanding of the connected contexts in order to develop informed, critical positions. A similar approach was taken by Adams (2022d, p. 10) in their zine curation, where they studied the queer political struggles represented in the history of Mardi Gras in their zine *Out of the Bars and Into the Streets* (2022c; see also Adams & Matthews, 2023), and explored the issue of climate justice in their zine *Long Night* (2022b).

Research and theory in design is integral to the process of making design (Blauvelt, 2015), and the practice of design can uncover findings of research inquiry and further inquiry. The design process of this project experiences the “problem space,” and the “solution space,” ..., develop and refine themselves “as a *consequence* of the design process” (Gale, 2015, p. 88). The shifting development also plots an ambiguous journey from the start of the project to the end that is unpredicted and interpolate knowledge from investigating the relationship between the initially imposed constraints, timeline and design methodology proposed for the project, with what was carried out in practice.

Design research and theory play a crucial role in the design process, as they can inform and enhance the inquiry and findings of the project (Blauvelt, 2015). Throughout the design process, the “problem space” and “solution space” evolve and refine themselves “as a consequence of the design process” (Gale, 2015, p. 88), leading to unexpected developments and insights. This can plot a journey that is unpredictable, and findings interpolate from investigating the relationship between the expected journey (i.e., proposed question for inquiry, timeline, and design methodology proposed for the project), and what is carried out in practice. (C. Cooper, personal communication, September 7, 2023; see Figure 1).

Practice-based methods resemble qualities that are ubiquitously anarchist. Anarchism “does not derive from the abstract reflections of an intellectual or a philosopher,” Delo Truda (1926/2006, p. 9) writes, “but out of the direct struggle waged by the working people against capital, out of their needs and requirements, out of their psychology, their desire for freedom and equality, aspirations that become especially vivid in the most heroic stages of the working masses’ life and struggle.” There are fundamental principles, in political organising as in anarchist theory, that form “the indispensable prerequisites” for this realisation of “worker’s self-management of industry,” writes Leval (1974, p. 172), they “determine the character and direction which struggles leading to the realization of the society must take.”

Anarcho-communists believe the means, mass working-class direct action, are inseparable from the ends, the realisation of a stateless socialist society.

1.2.2. Immersion research

Immersion research embeds the motives behind the propaganda created, such motives can only be forged in being immersed and involved in political organising.

Immersion research has its roots in ethnographic participant observation but adopts a narrower focus intending only to enter people's own space to enable them to share their thoughts, feelings attitudes, and perceptions regarding change and interventions in their own way, in their own time, and to share experience of the context (Jupp, 2021, p. 10).

My education which this inquiry is based on, has been heavily influenced by various social factors. These include the many casual conversations before, during, and after meetings of Pride in Protest, speak-outs at protests and the material distributed during rallies, and internal or open discussions at conferences. Such discussions, like a forum on organising an autonomously run, radical sex worker union (see [swac.nsw], 2023), or a community-led summit discussing solutions for safety against far-right harassment and agitation (see [pride.in.protest], 2023a, 2023b). radicalise and strategise pathways forward on an anarchist programme. This ethnographic practice has significantly contributed to my understanding. As famed Italian anarchist, Errico Malatesta (1920/2015, sec. 4), writes,

We must always be with the people, and when we do not succeed in getting them to demand a lot we must still seek to get them to want something; and we must make every effort to get them to understand that however much or little they may demand should be obtained by their own efforts and that they should despise and detest whoever is part of, or aspires to, government.

This experiential knowledge of immersion research, in my involvement of political organising, has been a fundamental component to propagate for Pride in Protest and ASEN NSW. This doesn't solely provide contextual insight, as the designs are also aesthetically informed not only by existing design trends within the socialist milieu—with some that emanate a visual language of the do-it-yourself (DIY), anarcho-punk* movement—but also suggestions from fellow organisers with knowledge of aesthetics across popular class led revolutions or symbolical elements of a particular struggle (e.g. the Pink Triangle, as a symbol for queer liberation, or usage of black and green—imitating the Green Anarchism flag).

* As Adams (2022d, p. 16) noted, while the philosophy of the visual language was generally in alignment with rebellious and anti-hierarchical ideas (Dunn, 2016, Chapter 7), it is important to stress that the anarcho-punk movement isn't rooted in a "level of *strategy*" (van der Walt & Schmidt, 2009, p. 123) that provokes mass working-class movement (BFS, 2022, para. 8). Rather, it bears more resemblance to a symbolic affectation of anarchy, and at most, to an "insurrectionary anarchist" philosophy that seeks to arouse the masses (van der Walt & Schmidt, 2009, p. 123). As van der Walt & Schmidt (2009, Chapter 4) argue, the "insurrectionist approach to anarchism has played a . . . minority part" (p. 128) in the anarchist movement that does little to support concerns of the popular class and spread anarchist ideas. It rides on individualist tactics of revolt, participating in unions "only from a position of permanent opposition to their operations" (p. 129, action that historically came in form of "individual terrorism and assassination, or attentats" (p. 130) and is now generally violent hostility to State and capitalist structures, through individual violent acts and means, that do "not demonstrably weaken capitalism and the state" (p. 133), as it also did not in the time of highly-regarded anarchist thinkers of the First International. Such thinkers differed for a "mass anarchist" approach, which supported reforms—forcing "concessions from the ruling class" (van der Walt & Schmidt, 2009, p. 124)—as "a 'means' [Yuzuru, 1928/2005] to 'rouse direct action and cultivate a bud of anarchism through daily struggle, which I [Kubo Yuzuru] believe will be the preparation for revolution'" (van der Walt & Schmidt, 2009, p. 137). Indeed, insurrectionist anarchism has tainted the public conception of anarchism as a major political philosophy.

This method of research draws distinctive parallels to the application of activity theory (Bertelsen, 2001, p. 25), in Bødker & Grønbaek's (1996, pp. 137–140) study of cooperative prototyping approaches. Work was prototyped in peer-to-peer environments with designers and non-designers, uncovering what psychologist L. S. Vygotsky (1978, p. 86) defines as the “zone of proximal development,” the scope of potential in problem solving from the collaboration of capable peers, in this case, this would be particularly significant in collaboration among peers with distinctively different skills and/or roles. In such settings, effective idea exploration was demonstrably efficient (Bødker & Grønbaek, 1996, p. 144) and streamlined prototyping processes.

It's critical that collectives are also anti-hierarchical, as opposed to managerial, reflecting the anatomy of the vanguard, a structured organisation of “leaders who believe they have special knowledge” (Pratkanis & Turner, 1996, p. 191) to be imposed onto the masses. The intricacies of this notion need not concern us here, however, I'd argue vanguardism is a “persistent antagonist within the Left” (Adams, 2022a, p. 6), in contra to Marxist ideals that believe the “theory of socialism . . . grew out of the philosophic, historical and economic theories elaborated by educated representatives of the propertied classes, by intellectuals” (Lenin, 1975, p. 24; as cited in McKay, 2018, The Party section). It is this belief that assumes then a party must be established to “educate” the working class which, according to McKay (2018), writing on the Russian Revolution—the single most observed precedent for Marxists on restructuring society to their ideals—the work to educate the working class was rather considerably imposed on the working class.

For Lenin [1974, p. 408], the “exploiting classes need political rule to maintain exploitation, i.e., in the selfish interests of an insignificant minority against a vast majority of all people” while the exploited classes need political rule in order to completely abolish all exploitation” anarchists agree with the first part but disagree with the second. Political rule—a State—is needed for a minority class to dominate society and is structured appropriately (hierarchical, centralised, top-down). It is not needed—indeed, defeats the aim—when we are talking about formally exploited classes (“the vast majority”) running society simply because it is not structured to allow that (McKay, 2018, Anarchism section).

It is necessary for coordinating activities based on what Pratkanis & Turner (1996, p. 191) refer to as “mutuality,” democratically horizontal, cooperative and egalitarian processes that help foster diversity and consider “immediate questions of action in the present” (Graeber, 2003, para. 2). Like anarchism as in political organising, is deeply founded on a theory of practice and is immersed in struggle.

1.3. Pedagogical strategies and practices

As someone who has been involved in political organizing this year, I can attest to the fundamental tool that propaganda is for political organising. When planning for any campaign, the topic of propaganda is always discussed, and grassroots organisers often like to contribute ideas on how to run social media pages. Effective engagement with the masses inextricably entails disseminating information through various channels, such as social media posts, flyers, and posters. While social media posts can be created using template design programs that don't require advanced technical skills, visual communication materials like flyers, newsletters, or zines may require more advanced knowledge of programs like Photoshop and InDesign.

There is a very notable interest in methods for disseminating knowledge about propaganda programs. It is crucial to explore effective pedagogical strategies that can help decentralise such skills. I'd argue that such an investigation should evaluate questions like, what constitutes design that radicalises? What kind of visual language can enhance or reinforce a message? How can we inspire others to reproduce, distribute, and self-publish personal interpretations of the societal issues we face? And the question I began with in this inquiry: "How does propaganda become a tool for radical political organising, and in what ways might this be envisioned?"

Strained by time constraints and workload limitations, this inquiry can only scratch the surface of these questions. Although it may be unfortunate, these limitations are a necessary aspect of any work. Success as a skilled designer, practitioner, and researcher requires perseverance through challenges encountered, like continuing work on a project that you may want to abandon, studying a topic as ambiguous as design research, or piecing together findings from a ghost of emotionally charged interactions. Such experiences and processes also develop the basis for a more defined problem for further inquiry. As stressed in the "spiral nature" (Biskjaer & Christensen, 2021, p. 9) of the "primary generator" model drawn up by Jane Darke (1979).

In an attempt to explain Darke's model in plain language, Bryan Lawson [2005] says, "you decide what you think might be an important aspect of the problem, develop a crude design on this basis, and then examine it to see what else you can discover about the problem" (Biskjaer & Christensen, 2021, p. 9).

The study aimed to question the dominant position of designers who believe that they have the authority to make sweeping decisions for the communities they design for, similar to the architects interviewed for Darke's study. As I have discussed in this essay, I aspire to practice and develop cooperative methods that oppose any imposition of managerial control, like the common existing modus operandi of design agencies that uphold vanguardist dynamics on the workers of the agency or the communities they design for, based on saviorist convictions (Abdulla, 2014).

1.4. Ephemera of the socialist milieu

“Ephemera of the socialist milieu: A major design inquiry” is my attempt to characterise a major design project around a year’s involvement in grassroots political activism. Drawing on both theoretical and practical elements that align with the tenets of the broad anarchist tradition, I strive to showcase living propaganda within Sydney’s socialist milieu with the following section containing 12 unique artifacts of propaganda. This essay, along with the Selected Ephemera showcards and subsequent section, represents the summation of my efforts for this project.

2. SELECTED EPHEMERA

**Selected works
designed by author
(March–October)**

2.1. Works of propaganda

The insightful commentary included with each artefact provides valuable context for the political landscape it interacts with. Additionally, it sheds light on the origins of the textual content. The work and accompanying writing contained in this section is my own. Work and extracts of writing in this section has been published on a public Instagram page in my name (Scansmm, n.d.).

2.1. Protect Student Centre jobs!

Protect student centre jobs! (2023, March 16). [Union flyer].

After a 22-month enterprise bargaining campaign, efforts to escalate the struggle for fairer pay and conditions at the University of Sydney (USyd) grinded against an increasing majority of members accepting capitulation over the threat of risking their employment or association with the union (Park & Butler, 2023; Rank and File Action [@RAFAUSyd], 2023; Solidarity USyd NTEU members, 2023).

My university, Western Sydney University (WSU), was quick to bargain a deal with the National Tertiary Education Union's (NTEU) branch of WSU last year (Whibley, 2022; Duffy, 2022). There is much doubt, however, that the NTEU's demands will genuinely be met, despite them saying it was a "historic win" (NTEU, n.d.), as the new Enterprise Agreement (EA) involves scathing compromises. Efforts to decasualise will mean deep wage cuts for full-time employees (World Socialist Web Site [WSWS], 2022), and the 150 placements will likely not be delivered since "management retains the prerogative to decide whether casuals are 'appointable'" (Head, 2022). The piss-weak EA was released during the busiest time of the teaching period, the exam marking period in late November, for staff to quickly approve, shutting down campaigns to vote against it (see also Turner, 2022).

Earlier this year, in March, administration assistants of the Student Centre at USyd were informed that their contracts would not be extended beyond March 31st while the Centre advertises 50 new online positions on their jobs portal (Butler, 2023). The following design was posterred and flyerred out to staff, encouraging them to join the NTEU and fight against this effort to lay off workers.

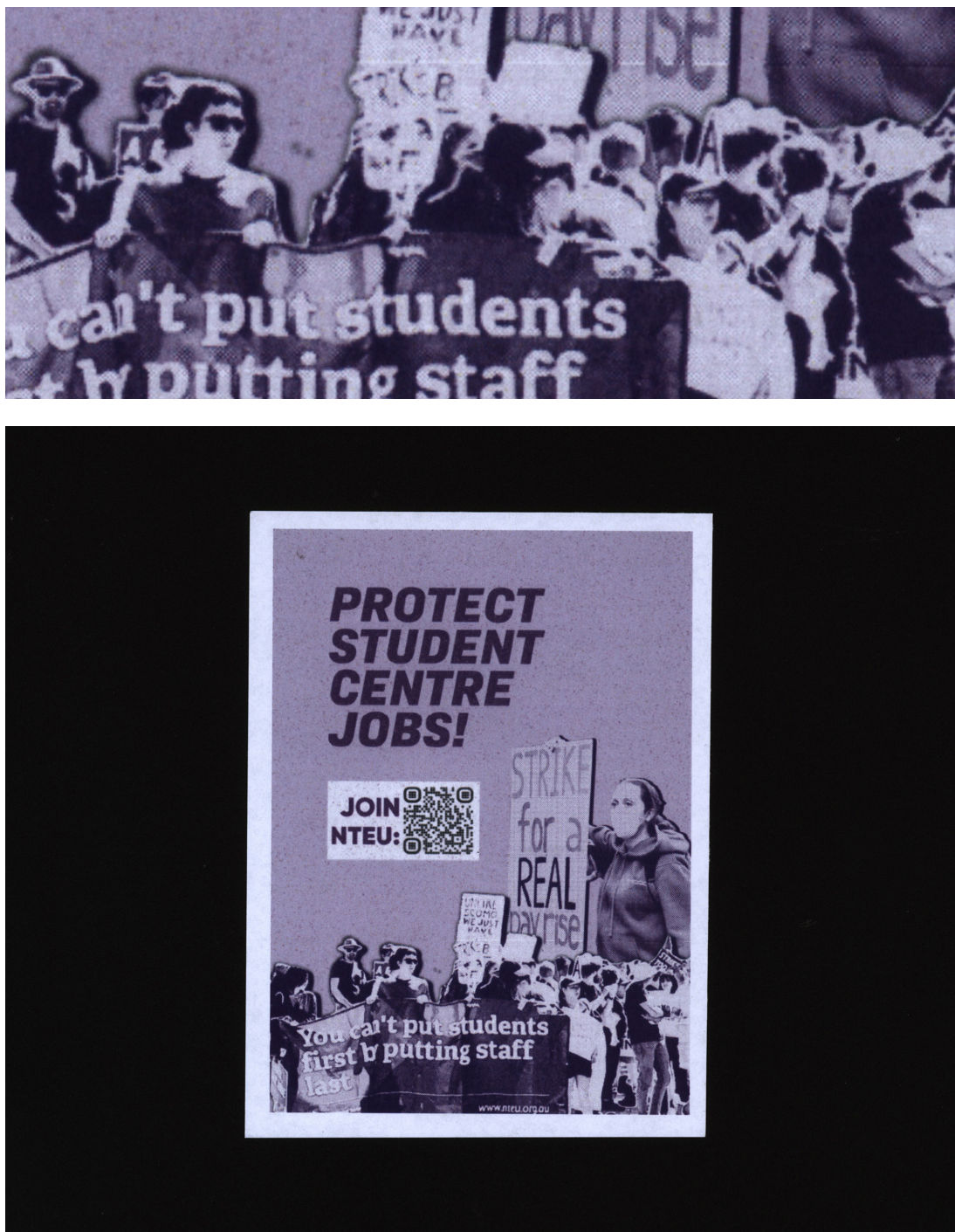


Figure 1. A flyer and poster design for USyd staff to join the NTEU, especially in light of events in March where university management informed administration assistants of the Student Centre that their contracts would not extend beyond the end of that month. Propaganda was widespread during the bargaining campaign in support of rank-and-file workers at USyd who were bargaining for favourable terms in their new EA—significantly bolstering the movement and mobilising masses to picket during strikes. An A6-sized cutout, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.2. Fundraiser party flyer

**Pride in Protest's 5th birthday fundraiser: Celebrate IDAHOBIT at the Red Rattler theatre.
(April 26, 2023). [Party flyer].**

The Pride in Protest collective comprises a broad group of workers and students, who potentially also involve themselves in various community action collectives and organising in their unions, that discuss politics, strategies, and organises actions and events. This is all integrated into the craft of drafting open letters, writing to potential rally speakers, making statements, and designing social media posts. Many of us are self-taught in these areas, and much of it involves spending many a time collaborating on Google Docs and using Canva, a templated design platform for visual communication.

As a designer, I find Canva and its use in these spaces an interesting case study for cooperative design. While there may be principles of design ignored when many use this platform, there is scope for designers to help revolutionaries use these tools in ways that produce compelling designs to catch viewers.

This was a flyer (designed in Photoshop, not Canva) for an event held on May 20 to raise funds for PiP's organising efforts. There were drag performances, ethereal acts, live music, and emotional poetry that moved many.



Figure 2. An A6-sized cutout, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.3. SAPP identity

Brand identity for SAPP. (May 13, 2023). [Logo, assets and style].

Australian university students who must complete a minimum of a thousand hours of unpaid labour through several work placements before they can graduate, live through experiences synonymous with poverty (Morley et al., 2023; Morley & Hodge, 2023). Such placements provide little to no time for students to perform paid labour for a lengthy period of about three to four months, meaning students are usually unable to earn an income during this time. A lot of students who give up their secure job for a work placement often face the disadvantage of having to accept unstable and casual work when they return to paid work after finishing their placement. Additionally, placement costs students' money when considering childcare fees, fuel or public transport costs to travel to placement, and parking costs while at the placement.

Students Against Poverty Placements (SAPP) are a group of students who've been able to bring new energy to the struggle and fight for paid placement ([@sapp_endplacementpoverty], n.d.). The branding for the campaign was explicitly designed to reflect this enthusiasm in the elongated, striking patterns, differing from much of the collateral seen in other student campaigns in Sydney. On June 7th, SAPP held a campaign launch event where they heard from various individuals, including students, educators, unionists, and Mehreen Faruqi, the deputy leader of the Australian Greens and senator for NSW (see [@sapp_endplacementpoverty], 2023).

The following is a brochure created using assets I designed, along with SAPP's logo. The brochure was created by one of SAPP's members, the work is not my own.

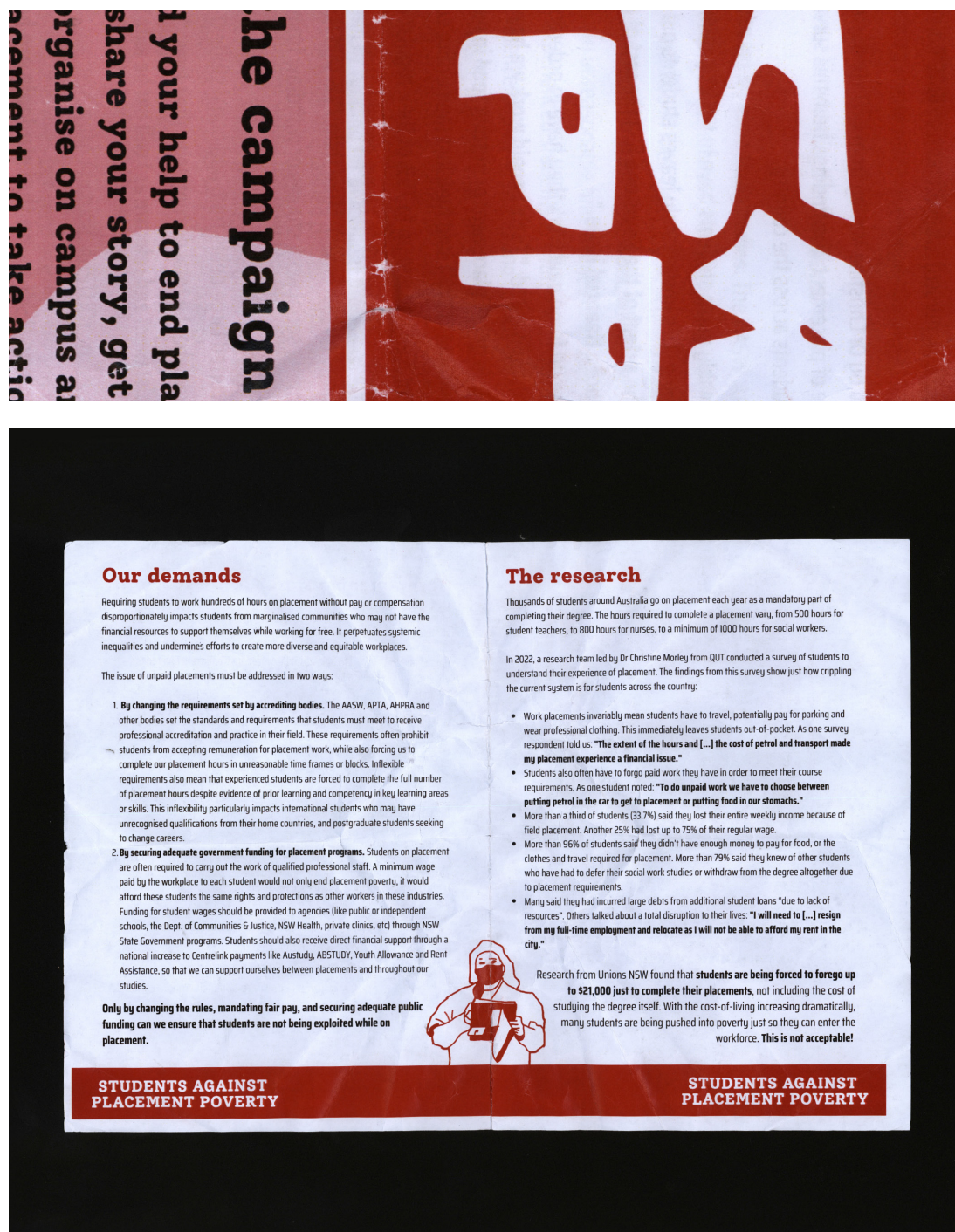


Figure 3. SAPP member. (n.d.). Campaign launch event brochure [Fold-out]. Retrieved June 7, 2023. An A5-sized brochure, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.4. Solidarity for grassroots Blak activists

Solidarity for grassroots Blak activists. (August 9, 2023). [Unpublished work].

The Voice referendum was a feature topic of discussion in grassroots organising this year. Many believed that voting “yes” on the ballot for this seemingly minor change to the constitution was the most moral decision. However, drawing from personal experiences with grassroots “Blak” activists—Indigenous peoples from rural areas who have been relentless in their fight for Indigenous liberation—this design recognises that the Voice proposal would not accurately represent First Nations peoples and believed it was not formed out of “Truth,” a concept that I have learned is a critical foundational step in fight for Indigenous struggle. Below I elaborate on this position (see Sections 2.8 & 2.12), starting with the subpar consultation processes within the Regional Dialogues.

Blak resistance to colonial recognition has a long-standing history, and the current Voice referendum is no exception (Black Peoples Union [BPU], 2023). In 1995, there was a proposed amendment to the preamble of the Australian Constitution to acknowledge the Indigenous peoples, this was coupled with the referendum question of whether Australia would become a republic (D. Butler, 2023). The statistical outcomes of this vote showed that “the preamble did not fare well in seats with high Indigenous population,” writes McKenna et al. (2001, p. 415), “which probably reflected the significant opposition to the preamble by many Indigenous leaders.” The idea of recognition is rested on what Indigenous scholar Sarah Maddison (2019) calls “colonial fantasy”; specifically an attempt to complete the colonial programme. Such recognition-based regimes have been carried out in “Asia, northern Europe, across the Americas, and throughout the South Pacific, including . . . Aotearoa New Zealand” (p. 2). The purpose of these regimes, Maddison argues, are all quite similar: To manufacture consent from Indigenous peoples to give up their Sovereignty.

For the settler state to recognise Indigenous peoples *as they want to be seen* would require recognition of the fact that colonisation involved the forcible acquisition of First Nations territories without consent. For the settler state to recognise Indigenous peoples *as they want to be seen* would require recognition of First Nations sovereignty, enabled through territorial self-government—the central defining claim of the global Indigenous rights movement—in ways that would threaten the stability of the colonial fantasy [Jung, 2010, p. 241; Watson, 2008, p. 20]. In its pursuit of colonial competition the settler state wants only to draw Indigenous peoples *into* the colonial order in order to eliminate that political challenge. Indigenous demands for recognition of sovereignty thus become cloaked by what Henry Reynolds [2013, p. 236] describes as settlers’ “muffled demands for assimilation”

. . . A decolonising view does not assume the legitimacy of settler state sovereignty over Indigenous peoples, and instead requires a genuine redistribution of both resources and political power, such that Indigenous peoples are able to terminate both their dependant relationship on the state and the colonial relationship itself (Maddison, 2019, p. 3).

This paternalistic dynamic is not simply a notion, it plays itself out as reflected in the consultation process of the Regional Dialogues for the Voice Referendum Council preceding the Yulara Convention (Uluru) producing the *Statement from the Heart*.^{*} The Convention and the Dialogues both failed to consult with each Indigenous Nation which breaches “both customary laws and democratic [parliament] processes” (Blak Sovereign Movement [BSM], 2023a, p. 1). According

* The Anangu elders asked for the removal of “Uluru” from the title of the Referendum Council’s statement, but it was used anyway (Lindsay, 2017).

the Megan Davis, as seen was once a scholar on Indigenous dissent to reconnection, was now the co-chair of the Referendum Council, admitted that the Dialogues “banned significant leaders from the movement because of their cynicism about government and the country changing” (National Press Club [NPC], 2022; as cited in BSM, 2023a, p. 1).

The dissent against the Voice has been extremely shrouded by public consciousness. There was a need to amplify grassroots Black activists’ voices to inform the public. Several attempts (see Figure 8) were made to provide material that achieves this goal for distribution at rallies. The following was one such attempt that fell short. Further attempts would be made to address this need.

As mentioned on the end page of the handout, the textual content of this design draws from material by “the Black Sovereign Movement’s statement on the Voice referendum, their detailed position document on the referendum [BSM, 2023a], and their response to the Voice campaign’s Yes/No case pamphlets [BSM, 2023b]. You can read the documents published by the Black Sovereign Movement, which can be located on the website of the same name.”

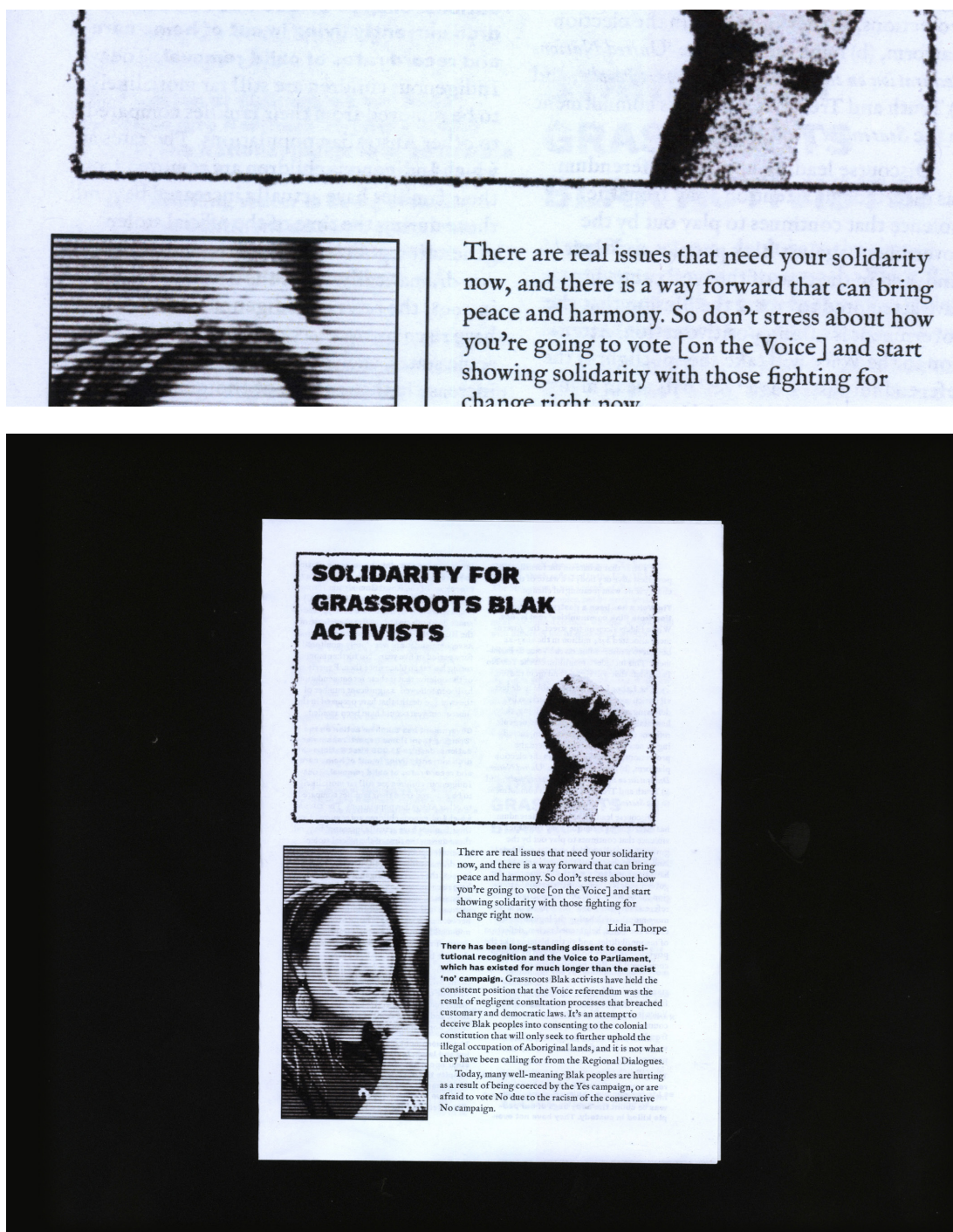


Figure 4. An A5-sized fold-out, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

all criticism of its policies and inaction by deferring to the Voice, and in so doing, they have stalled a number of crucial and urgent reforms until after the referendum, including (a) new standalone cultural heritage protections, as they promised in the election platform, (b) implementing the *'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples'*, and (c) Truth and Treaty as part of its commitment to the *Statement from the Heart*.

Discourse leading up to the referendum has diverted our attention away from the violence that continues to play out by the government against Black peoples and their land, and in the case of the 'yes' campaign, have attempted to create the illusion that the government is taking positive action. Attention to the Voice will take the spotlight if the referendum passes, as a 'yes' will mean many more months of debating the legislation to create the Voice, heightened racism, deflection of responsibilities, and victim blaming like the powerless advisory bodies (backed by mining companies) for Black peoples before it.

It is all the more important that we are standing in solidarity with Black peoples and fighting for the Indigenous struggle. The Voice is not what Black peoples across the country are wanting, when they are on the frontlines of racist, systemic and political

have been followed, a significant number of the over 400 deaths that have occurred in the subsequent years could have been avoided.

Government has taken no action on the 'Bringing them Home Report' recommendations, despite 23,000 First Nations children currently living in out of home care and record rates of child removal. Today Indigenous children are still far more likely to be removed from their families compared to other Australian populations. The rates at which Indigenous children are removed from their families have actually increased beyond those during the time of the official stolen generation policies. These rates continue to rise dramatically. Since the national apology in 2008, the rates of Indigenous child removal have risen by over 79.5% nationwide, with some states, such as Victoria, recording a 217% increase in the removal of Indigenous children between 2008 and 2017. The rates of Indigenous child removal in Victoria translate to a figure of 1 in every 10 Aboriginal children in the state being in out-of-home care.

Many of the 34 recommendations outlined in the Bringing them Home Report have still yet to be enacted. State and federal governments and their respective agencies need to adopt and implement all of the recommendations. 'Sorry' means you don't do it again!

The government continues to approve mining

of the Voice to Parliament. In an SBS report, Woodside's CEO, Meg O'Neill, said she'd support the Voice but won't commit to following its advice. Out of five other mining giants contacted by SBS, only three showed support for constitutional change, but none committed to following advice that may curtail, change, or halt their operations.

\$14.2 million of Black money had been funnelled into Northern Territory Police through the National Indigenous Australian Agency. Additionally, a fundamental right to safe drinking water is being violated across the continent as toxic chemicals are contaminating Black communities' water supplies or damming them off upstream.

The extensive delay in releasing the report on the inquiry into the 'UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' has been attributed to the Voice campaign, hindering time in implementing crucial human rights for Black peoples. The parliament house senate referred the *'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples'* to the Joint Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs for an inquiry and report on August 2, 2022. The inquiry report has faced significant delays, and public discourse on the upcoming referendum rarely considers the issues of implementing

track, and decreasing the number of children in out-of-home care, are all getting worse. The gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is certainly widening.

STAND WITH GRASSROOTS BLAK ACTIVISTS!

Many Black activists don't have the time or resources to campaign against the Voice. They are occupied with defending unceded, stolen land and their mob from this colonial system.

Why waste time on supporting something we know won't work: where is the evidence that a powerless advisory body will change anything? History tells us it won't.

Continue to fight for the demands of the rally hosted by Black Lives Still Matter:

- Implement the recommendations from RCADIAC.
- Stop the war on Black kids: end forced removals, shut youth prisons.
- Justice for deaths in custody: Safework and DPP must prosecute.
- Defend Aboriginal lands from mining

It's clear that debate on the formation of a powerless advisory body is a waste of time and energy if we want meaningful change.

The Voice has been a destructive distraction from Black communities' real issues. While Elders sleep on the street, the government allocated \$94 million in the 2023-24 budget to a referendum on the Voice to Parliament. This includes \$10 million on the Yes/No Pamphlets that will rightly end up in the bin.

The Labor Party has been able to deflect all criticism of its policies and inaction by deferring to the Voice, and in so doing, they have stalled a number of crucial and urgent reforms until after the referendum, including (a) new standalone cultural heritage protections, as they promised in the election platform, (b) implementing the *'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples'*, and (c) Truth and Treaty as part of its commitment to the *Statement from the Heart*.

Discourse leading up to the referendum has diverted our attention away from the violence that continues to play out by the government against Black peoples and their land, and in the case of the 'yes' campaign, have attempted to create the illusion that the government is taking positive action. Attention to the Voice will take the spotlight if the referendum passes, as a 'yes' will mean many more months of debating the legislation to create the Voice, heightened racism, deflection of responsibilities, and victim blaming like the powerless advisory bodies (backed by mining companies) for Black peoples before it.

It is all the more important that we are standing in solidarity with Black peoples and fighting for the Indigenous struggle. The Voice is not what Black peoples across the country are wanting, when they are on the frontlines of racist, systemic and political violence, endemic from the frontier to the present.

The government has only implemented one recommendation of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody, and that was to count the body bags of our people killed in custody. They have not even

implemented the simple recommendation to remove hanging points in cells. Since the release of the Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody (RCIADC) final report in 1991, there have been 547 Indigenous deaths in custody. After the release of the RCIADC report, the implementation of its recommendations was closely monitored for a period of five years. No further monitoring has taken place since then. Experts are of the opinion that if these recommendations had been followed, a significant number of the over 400 deaths that have occurred in the subsequent years could have been avoided.

Government has taken no action on the 'Bringing them Home Report' recommendations, despite 23,000 First Nations children currently living in out of home care and record rates of child removal. Today Indigenous children are still far more likely to be removed from their families compared to other Australian populations. The rates at which Indigenous children are removed from their families have actually increased beyond those during the time of the official stolen generation policies. These rates continue to rise dramatically. Since the national apology in 2008, the rates of Indigenous child removal have risen by over 79.5% nationwide, with some states, such as Victoria, recording a 217% increase in the removal of Indigenous children between 2008 and 2017. The rates of Indigenous child removal in Victoria translate to a figure of 1 in every 10 Aboriginal children in the state being in out-of-home care.

Many of the 34 recommendations outlined in the Bringing them Home Report have still yet to be enacted. State and federal governments and their respective agencies need to adopt and implement all of the recommendations. 'Sorry' means you don't do it again!

The government continues to approve mining and land clearing despite the loud and clear opposition from Traditional Owners. Despite the outrage at the destruction of Juukan Gorge, Indigenous sacred sites continue to be destroyed, their songlines disrupted, and their culture attacked. The

struggle toward land back means abolishing the systems that harm Country. Current systems of land governance exclude Black peoples from decision-making regarding their land, and favour extractive industries, leading to the destruction of cultural heritage and sacred sites.

The Voice won't provide the means to change this. Despite much 'support' that's been purported by mining giants, many are unwilling to commit to following the advice of the Voice to Parliament. In an SBS report, Woodside's CEO, Meg O'Neill, said she'd support the Voice but won't commit to following its advice. Out of five other mining giants contacted by SBS, only three showed support for constitutional change, but none committed to following advice that may curtail, change, or halt their operations.

\$14.2 million of Black money had been funnelled into Northern Territory Police through the National Indigenous Australian Agency. Additionally, a fundamental right to safe drinking water is being violated across the continent as toxic chemicals are contaminating Black communities' water supplies or damming them off upstream.

The extensive delay in releasing the report on the inquiry into the 'UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples' has been attributed to the Voice campaign, hindering time in implementing crucial human rights for Black peoples. The parliament house senate referred the *'United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples'* to the Joint Standing Committee on Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Affairs for an inquiry and report on August 2, 2022. The inquiry report has faced significant delays, and public discourse on the upcoming referendum rarely considers the issues of implementing the UNDRIP. It seems that Labor is using the Voice debate as a means to distract from their ongoing and intentional obstruction of implementing basic human rights protections for Indigenous peoples. Many a submission on the inquiry frames the Regional Dialogues and the Statement from the Heart as

exercising self-determination of Indigenous peoples, that's reflected in the UNDRIP. The Statement is not a result of the decisions of Aboriginal peoples, but by government selected members, directed from a government-appointed council, without consultation with Elders or use of democratic processes.

According to the recent 'Closing the Gap' report, many of its goals, like reducing rates of incarceration and suicide, ensuring more children are developmentally on track, and decreasing the number of children in out-of-home care, are all getting worse. The gap between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians is certainly widening.

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Why waste time on supporting something we know won't work: where is the evidence that a powerless advisory body will change anything? History tells us it won't.

Continue to fight for the demands of the rally hosted by Black Lives Still Matter:

- Implement the recommendations from RCADIAC.
- Stop the war on Black kids: end forced removals, shut youth prisons.
- Justice for deaths in custody: Safework and DPP must prosecute.
- Chris Minns, Anthony Albanese and Linda Burney to meet with families of Black deaths in custody.
- No defense housing development at Lee Point, hands off Larrakia Country!

2.5. Stand up for drag performers!

Reinstate drag storytime shows! Pay performers if shows are cancelled. (July 26, 2023).

[Printed zine].

During the lead-up to Pride month, NSW and Victoria made a spate of cancellations of queer events, including drag storytime events (see Wilson, 2023). These cancellations have occurred against a backdrop of misinformation, harassment and threats against venues and performers (Kelly, 2023; Kelly & Kolovos, 2023; Aubrey, 2023; Austin & Graffam, 2023).

Formed from the nexus of culture wars fostered by the far-right, recent demonstrations have been cause for concern. Examples include the gathering of neo-Nazis on parliament steps in Victoria, as well as assemblies of far-right Maronite Catholics on Oxford St and Newtown's Kings St, targeting queer and trans people.

Shamefully, it is evident that the police, when contacted regarding safety concerns, find it easier to cancel queer events than do the work to ensure that queer people are protected in public spaces.

To address the issue of cancelled drag events, a united approach led by the community is needed. Pride in Protest, a collective that organises protests, hosted a drag storytime event and launched an open letter campaign supported by drag performers (Lenton, 2023). The campaign aims to reinstate drag storytime events in all local government areas and ensure that drag performers receive payment for cancelled events.

Thanks to their efforts, the campaign has made significant progress. The City of Sydney council has passed a motion calling for statewide support for drag storytime shows. The motion prioritises the safety of performers and attendees, as well as full payment for performers if events are cancelled. There is no doubt that this was achieved thanks to the work of Pride in Protest.

The following is a flyer that was distributed primarily to performers, inviting them to sign the open letter to show some drag support. The latter is a form for members of Pride in Protest to gather signatures.



Figure 5. A4-sized print. Printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.




Figure 6. An A6-sized brochure, created by folding an A5-sized cutout. Printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

The event was a hit with the locals, we were delighted that our organisers could throw something together for those families attending the Sunday markets at Addison Road's community centre. The parents and children all were thrilled, and we were pleased Cassandra and Woody do what the best as drag royalty. It is our hope this little gathering inspires Matric council and councils elsewhere to have family-friendly drag events like this their own volition. Drag events across the state have been shut down due to intimidation efforts by hate groups. Their presence was not felt in this welcoming space.

Joel Fitzgibbon
for Pride in

Please sign your name on the open letter and indicate if you would like to receive updates on the campaign's progress. The information you provide will be kept confidential. Thank you for your support.



Follow us on Instagram: @pride.in.protest
Facebook: facebook.com/PrideInProtest
Twitter: @prideinprotest

We, drag performers and the queer community, call upon councils to re-commit themselves to the queer community and stand up for drag performers in the face of vile right-wing attacks.

In the wake of a series of event cancellations in Victoria due to queerphobic harassment, many councils in NSW have quietly dropped their Pride Month celebrations. This cuts performers off from a vital source of income and is a way in which management of councils is forcing our community back into the closet at the request of the far right. Our community should be celebrated, not silenced, and pride events should be something we can experience all year round.

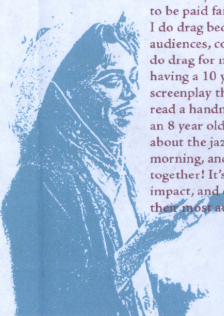
On Sunday the 19th of June, drag performers Woody and Cassandra The Queen performed in a Drag Story Time event at Addison Road Community Centre. The event was attended by a large and enthused crowd of children, parents and community members without incident. Security was handled by the community, not the police, who advocate for shutdowns of performances. We want to assert that queer events in NSW can still be hosted safely and that the community will turn out in support when given the chance.

Just like all other professions, with any cancellation of a drag show, that is a cut to the performer's livelihood, their rent, and their bills.

We demand:

- A reinstatement of drag storytime shows in NSW.
- A guarantee that if the drag storytime shows are cancelled, the performers should be guaranteed paid regardless.

The storytime was an afternoon filled with fun and smiles from kids, parents, performers and organisers - and that's what I think we should be highlighting and promoting! There was tangible joy in the air! As a Drag King, performing is and likely will not become a reliable source of income for me, and money is never why I take a gig (though it's nice to be paid fairly for my work, of course!) I do drag because of the connection to audiences, community and to myself. I do drag for memorable moments - like having a 10 year old kid tell me about a screenplay they were writing, after I read a handmade book that I wrote as an 8 year old. Kids excitedly telling me about the jazz class they went to that morning, and us dancing to ABBA together! It's a joy that leaves a lasting impact, and encourages everyone to be their most authentic selves.



Woody, drag performer

2.6. Handmade zine for IWW's Radical Fair

The Plague That Haunts My Mother: Welcome to NSW (March 23, 2023). [Handmade zine].

An artifact of subverting. A culturally participative mode of media, rooted in informal, underground and DIY cultures, zines revel in informality and oppose conventional boundaries, and culture jamming is often a staple feature in these small publications made of folded and cut A3 or A4 paper.

In activist and political circles, material approaches to communication are still very prevalent. Cutouts of A6 size are frequently utilised for planned protests and events, as seen in previous designs I have shared.

It is rare but not unheard of to come across material that contains more textual content to convey a single idea or a short exposition on a particular political issue, as a means to distribute ideas. At the beginning of this year, I was determined to understand how zines could be an effective tool for such cases. But lost momentum upon learning the extensive designing done for social media as opposed to printed, and its effectiveness in terms of outreach. Still, I believe there is potential in DIY publishing that is open for inquiry.

The following is the original submission of a zine which was photocopied, edited, and distributed at the IWW's Wildcat Radical Fair on April 1st. It was part of a collection of zines created by members of the Pride in Protest collective.



Figure 7. An A6-sized zine, folded and cut from A3 copy paper; captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.7. S.L.A. rebrand

Student Left Alliance (S.L.A.) Rebrand (August 18, 2023). [Unpublished work]

The Student Left Alliance (S.L.A.) is a faction within the USyd Student Representative Council (SRC) that campaigned in the recent student election for seats in the SRC, riding on 3 election tickets: “S.L.A. for Climate Action,” “S.L.A. for Trans Rights,” and “S.L.A. Against War.”

Quickly designed with little direction to go on from the commission—only requesting that the new identity look “less ugly” and retain elements of the original design to allow for the reuse of S.L.A.’s existing custom shirts—this proposed rebrand would’ve been adopted as the new visual identity of the faction in the lead-up to the election.

In the end, the design was unusable due to time constraints for election ticket submissions.

The S.L.A. faction won two seats for the 96th SRC term. The most voted ticket that the faction ran on was “S.L.A. for Trans Rights,” which ranked seventh overall in the order of Councillor election.

STUDENT LEFT ALLIANCE



Figure 8. S.L.A. letterhead and solidarity fist icon.

2.8. The people's pamphlet on the Voice

The People's Pamphlet on the Voice to Parliament (August 16, 2023). [Unpublished work].

As of writing, it is referendum day. We will determine whether this country agrees to amend the colonial constitution to recognise First Peoples of this country in the form of establishing an advisory body for parliamentary affairs concerning them. The following is a revised version of the handout, "Solidarity for Grassroots Blak Activists." The pamphlet contains key considerations for the case of the Sovereign No vote.

[The Voice] came from a process that is neither consistent with Indigenous cultural protocols nor the democratic principles of this colonial system. It was a top-down process that used limited consultation to create a veneer of consensus that was used to silence the diverse views of First People.

For too long, the ALP "has been able to deflect all criticism of its policies and inaction by deferring to the Voice, and in so doing, they have stalled a number of crucial and urgent reforms until after the referendum."

Attention to the Voice will take the spotlight if the referendum passes, as a "yes" will mean many more months of debating the legislation to create the Voice, heightened racism, deflection of responsibilities, and victim blaming like the powerless advisory bodies (backed by mining companies) for Blak peoples before it.

... The bullying, racism and confusion of the Voice debate highlight how denying the Truth of this country's history will forever cause pain and suffering. ... People would not be wasting time on the Voice if they knew the history of advisory bodies having no impact on government policy. There can be no progress or healing until all people living on this land learn, accept, and act on the Truth of what the invasion and continued colonisation means for Blak peoples.

... Why waste time on supporting something we know won't work: where is the evidence that a powerless advisory body will change anything? History tells us it won't.

The Voice to Parliament and constitutional recognition are not the only options on the table. There has been a long-standing invitation for settlers to engage in a Truth-telling process, to support us in defending our land and children, and to recognise our Sovereignty. The invitation still stands and you can respond right now.

- Demand the government implement the 30 year old recommendations from the *Royal Commission into Aboriginal Deaths in Custody* and the *Bringing them Home Report*.
- Demand the government meet international human rights standards and implement the *United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous People*.
- Learn the real history of this land. You have a responsibility to learn and understand the violence inflicted on our Country and our people.
- Learn about the Country you are living on. Recognise and learn from the true Sovereigns of that land.
- Truth-telling and Self-determination can set out the proper and just methods with

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Continue to fight for the demands of the rally hosted by Black Lives Still Matter:

- Implement the recommendations from RCIADIC.
- Stop the war on Black kids: end forced removals, shut youth prisons.
- Justice for deaths in custody: Safe-work and DPP must prosecute.
- Defend Aboriginal lands from min-

FURTHER READING

We'd highly recommend following the Black Peoples Union on their social media pages.

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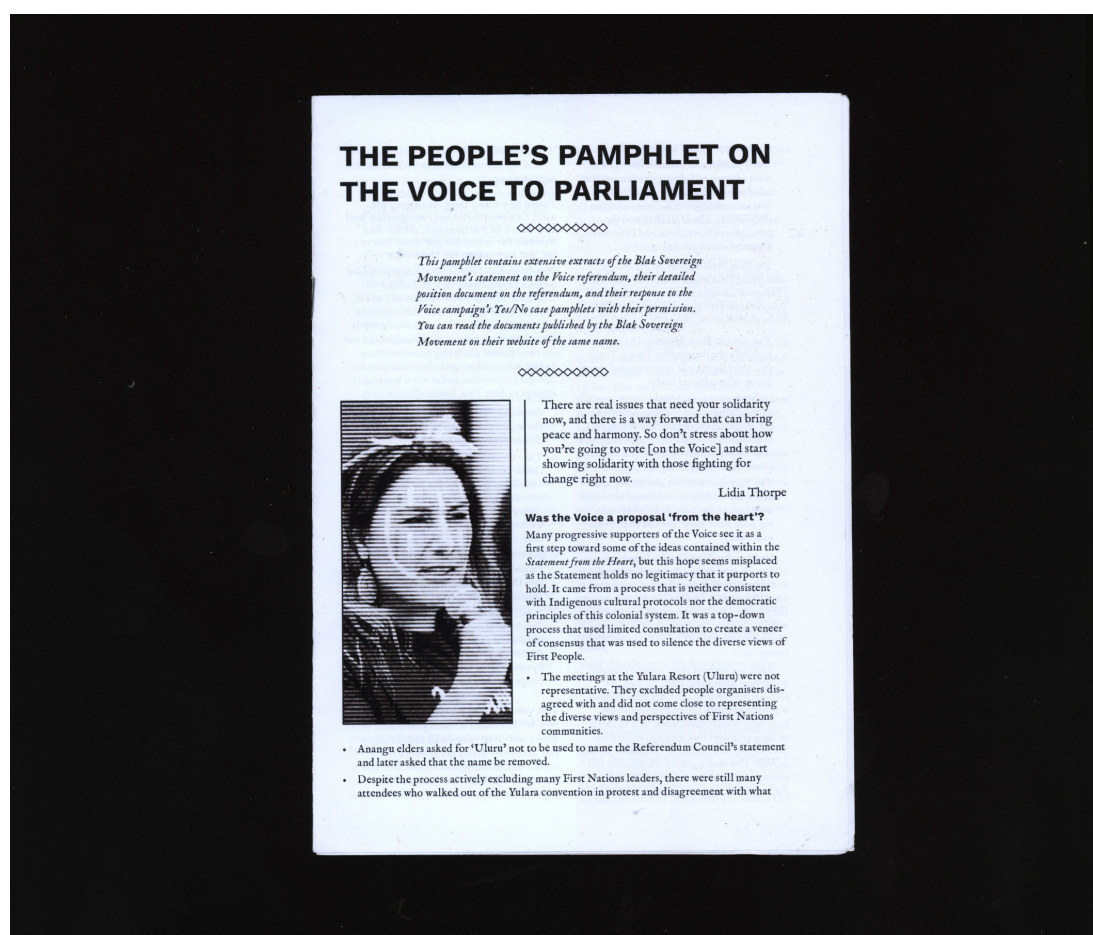


Figure 9. An A5-sized 8-page booklet, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.9. Printed zines for Zines for Zines

Reinstate drag storytime shows! Pay performers if shows are cancelled. (July 26, 2023). [Printed zine].

Policing our communities: NSW Police considered to co-host at Sydney queer safety summit. (July 26, 2023). [Printed zine].

Zine on the Anti-discrimination Act: What is the Equality Bill(s)? (July 28, 2023). [Printed zine].

Strapped for ideas on content for zines, I drew on “discussions, social media posts and documents shared among the Pride in Protest collective,” condensing them into short communiques about ongoing campaigns.

The communiques addresses issues of dragphobia and suggesting ways to fight against it in our communities; NSW Police being considered to co-host at Sydney queer safety summit; and an attempted explainer on the bills to NSW parliament, put forward by Alex Greenwich, known collectively as the Equality Bill.

The zines were on display at Mardi Queer’s Packing Room Gallery in the Sock Drawer Heroes store from August–October.

is nas led to bans on gender-affirming care
 sk of child removal, bans on drag, attacks
 tes, and historic propaganda attacks
 s 'paedophiles' and trans people using
 f sex work by proxy. This far-right push
 o anti-abortion campaigns and rhetoric
 y values narrative.

upport amongst the public for such
 s in Australia. Still, the same propagating
 ng deployed to recuperate the right's
 the postal survey for marriage equality.
 ia are the two frontiers for this conflict.

ave seen neo-Nazis groups in Victoria,
 rliament steps; and the Christian far-
 forming stunts like marching on Vi-

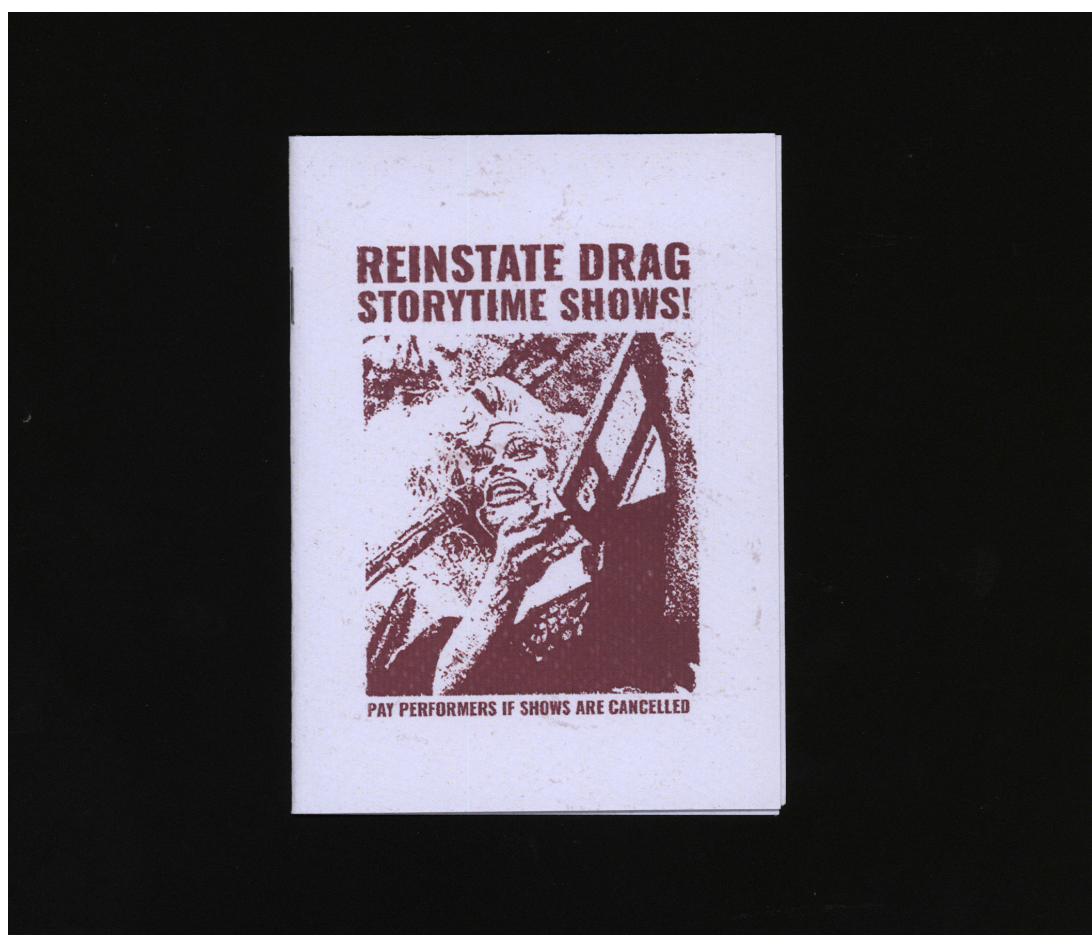


Figure 10. An A6-sized zine printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 watercolour paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.



Figure 11. An A6-sized zine printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 watercolour paper. Captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.



Safety Summit" via Facebook after news through regarding an anti-trans gathering St. The forthcoming community safety summit co-hosted with ACON, would be held jointly with other councils, NSW government agencies and, concerning, the NSW Police.¹ Holding such a summit with the police will fundamentally undermine the conversation that needs to be had about homophobia and transphobia, as dialogue must be had between our community in coming together.

Out gay Independent Sydney MP, Alex Greenwich, ordered an increase in policing of our community safe."² This is a blatant double standard for the historical and ongoing tensions be

POLICING OUR COMMUNITIES

**NSW POLICE CONSIDERED
TO CO-HOST AT SYDNEY
QUEER SAFETY SUMMIT**

2.10. Learn the means to revolt!

Learn the means to revolt! (August 18, 2023) [ASEN NSW Training Camp promotional flyer].

Flyering, or leafleting, is a more sophisticated craft than simply handing someone a flyer. In order to hook the interest of the recipient, the flyerer must connect with them; attention is given when it is reciprocated.

Personally, I'm quite tepid in the practice, but I'm always learning through hands-on experience. Some who claim to be skilled in flyering suggest the use of various methods and appealing to different senses in order to grab people's attention: Memorising a set of lead-in statements to hook passersby, ready with talking points to explain the flyer's premise and quick, simple statements to fire around.

Crafting a compelling message to encourage individuals to attend an ASEN Training Camp—an event that provides an opportunity to upskill in grassroots political organising—was no easy feat. It's a daunting challenge to convince someone who is not already involved in political organising to attend a weekend camp with unfamiliar faces.

"Learn the means to revolt!" was my damndest attempt at a simple and compelling call to action.

Questions like these underline the practice of propaganda, a tool that I've learned is central to campaigning. In the case of the Sovereign No campaign on the Voice, Blak grassroots activists believe a wealth of work to elicit and advance Indigenous struggle comes from the dissemination of information. Uncle Wayne "Coco" Wharton (Kooma Murri, personal communication, September 24, 2023), the proprietor of Treaty Before Voice, says, "It doesn't have to be complicated. It's just banners and leaflets."

"Over 300 voices, not one—this is the message we're trying to send out."



Figure 12. An A6-sized cutout, printed with an office inkjet printer on A4 copy paper; captured on a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

2.11. Poster on-site

A3 poster (August 20, 2023).

A poster on-site promoting a rally and an open letter by Pride in Protest.

The rally, “Whose streets? Our streets!”, which took place on 2 September, was a considerable success. It attracted many people from the community who had not previously been active in the queer activist space and demonstrated the strength of the community in the face of fascist harassment on the streets. The efforts to occupy busy roads were also commendable, given the police presence, an overly increased threat for future protests following media attention on rallies supporting Palestinian resistance against Israel’s apartheid.

As you can see, the design is sectioned into 2 blocks of information. The lower section contains the material on Pride in Protest’s open letter that supports drag performers. The upper section features elements taken from the promotional material for the 2 September rally—created by a member of Pride in Protest and is not my own.



Figure 13. Image of posters on-site: Captured on a Pentax MZ-50 with Kodak Portra 400 35mm.

2.12. Mutiny's pamphlet on the Voice

Mutiny, Special Edition: Voice to Parliament. (October, 2023). [Anarcho-communist newsletter].

Another rendition of a distributable publication on the Voice to Parliament, this time done for Black Flag Sydney's newsletter, Mutiny (see also BFS, 2023).



Figure 14. An 8-page booklet printed on glossy paper, sized A4, and scanned with a Plustek OpticProA320 flatbed scanner at 600 dpi.

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